

## Message Text

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ACTION CU-04

INFO OCT-01 EA-09 ISO-00 CIAE-00 INR-07 NSAE-00 /021 W

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R 140904Z JAN 76

FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6089

USIA WASHDC

UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 2 TOKYO 0574

STATE FOR CU/EA

USIA FOR ICS/DF;

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: OEXC/J

SUBJECT: MAJOR PACKAGED PROGRAM: POST-VIETNAM FOUR POWER  
RELATIONSHIP IN N.E. ASIA

REF: CPP PROJECT WS-02

1. FOLLOWING WILL BE THE POST'S POLICY PAPER AND PRELIMINARY PROGRAM DESIGN FOR OUR MAJOR PACKAGED PROGRAM (MPP) ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS UNDER THE WORKING TITLE OF POST-VIETNAM FOUR POWER RELATIONSHIP IN N.E. ASIA. THE DESIGN PART OF THIS MESSAGE INCLUDES A REQUEST FOR THREE ASPs FOR THE PLANNED THREE WEEK (JUNE 2-23) LENGTH OF THE PROGRAM. MUCH OF THE PLANNING OF THE PROGRAMS DEPENDS UPON WHO WE ARE ABLE TO HAVE AS SPEAKERS AND WE URGE THAT EARLY ATTENTION BE GIVEN TO OBTAINING THEM. THE DESIGN SUGGESTS SOME NAMES AND TYPES OF PEOPLE WE WANT. PLS SEND US YOUR THOUGHTS ON POSSIBILITIES SOONEST FOR POST REACTION.

2. OTHER SUPPORT NEEDED INCLUDES PROFILES AND PHOTOS OF SPEAKERS WHEN SELECTED; VTR MADE BY SPEAKERS; IDENTIFICATION OF ARTICLES, BOOKS AND OTHER MATERIALS.

3. ELECTRONIC DIALOGUE MENTIONED IN THE DESIGN WILL BE SUBJECT OF SEPARATE MESSAGE.

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4. THE POLICY PAPER AND PRELIMINARY PROGRAM DESIGN.

WORKING TITLE: POST-VIETNAM FOUR POWER RELATIONSHIP IN  
N.E. ASIA.

5. USIS OBJECTIVE II: TO CLARIFY AND STIMULATE  
ACCEPTANCE FOR U.S. POLITICAL AND SECURITY POLICIES,  
EMPHASIZING (A) THE IMPORTANCE OF CLOSE AMERICAN-  
JAPANESE POLITICAL AND SECURITY COOPERATION IN THE  
PRESERVATION OF PEACE; AND (B) INITIATIVES TOWARD  
DETENTE AND THE IMPROVEMENT OF RELATIONS WITH CHINA AND  
THE USSR.

6. BACKGROUND: A. THE U.S. HAS REAFFIRMED THROUGH THE  
PACIFIC DOCTRINE THAT OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH JAPAN IS THE  
KEYSTONE TO OVERALL SECURITY IN NORTHEAST ASIA. THE GOJ  
HAS MAINTAINED ITS POLICY OF RELIANCE ON THE SECURITY  
TREATY EVEN THOUGH SOME INDICATORS HAVE REFLECTED PUBLIC  
DOUBT IN JAPAN ABOUT THIS ALIGNMENT AND CONTINUING  
INTEREST IN A NEUTRALIST POLICY. THE MOOD OF ACCEPTANCE  
FOR THE TREATY HAS IMPROVED IN THE PAST 12 TO 18 MONTHS,  
ATTRIBUTABLE IN PART TO THE EXCHANGE OF HEAD-OF-STATE  
VISITS AND ANXIOUSNESS FOLLOWING THE AMERICAN EXIT FROM  
INDOCHINA, AS WELL AS TO CHINESE SUPPORT FOR IT.

B. THE MORE ANXIOUS APPRAISALS OF JAPAN'S SECURITY  
SITUATION SHORTLY AFTER SAIGON'S FALL HAVE MODERATED  
IN THE FACE OF THE CLEAR USG AFFIRMATIONS OF OUR  
OVERALL ASIAN POLICY, OUR COMMITMENTS TO OUR ALLIES,  
AND A SOMEWHAT MORE REALISTIC APPRECIATION OF JAPAN'S  
OWN INTERESTS IN THE AREA. STILL, THIS PERIOD EXPOSED  
SOME SERIOUS GAPS IN JAPANESE UNDERSTANDING OF U.S.  
POLICY AND THE BASIC THINKING UNDERLYING THAT POLICY.  
DOUBTS ABOUT THE VALUE AND RELIABILITY OF SECURITY  
TREATY AND AGITATION ABOUT THE U.S. MILITARY PRESENCE  
REMAIN PROBLEMS. THESE CONCERNS ARE HEIGHTENED BY  
UNCERTAINTY ABOUT KOREA AND THE POTENTIAL RELATIONSHIP  
OF U.S. FORCES IN BOTH JAPAN AND KOREA TO ANY OUTBREAK  
OF HOSTILITIES IN KOREA.

C. DURING A TIME WHEN JAPANESE ATTITUDES TOWARD THE  
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TREATY ARE CHANGING, THE INTERESTS OF BOTH COUNTRIES  
ARE SERVED BY CLEARER UNDERSTANDING OF THE REASONS  
FOR THE ALLIANCE. THE PROBLEM IS NO LONGER SO MUCH  
THE EXISTENCE OF THE TREATY ITSELF AS IT IS THE NEED TO  
UNDERSTAND HOW U.S. MILITARY POWER RELATES TO THE OVER-  
ALL PROSPECTS FOR STABILITY IN NORTHEAST ASIA. FOR  
THIS PURPOSE, A CONSIDERATION OF THE DYNAMICS OF THE  
FOUR POWER RELATIONSHIP IN NORTHEAST ASIA IS ESSENTIAL.

WHILE THE JAPANESE SEE THE BENEFITS OF DETENTE, THEY ALSO HAVE QUESTIONS ABOUT THE EFFECTS OF THE POLICY IN JAPAN'S SECURITY INTERESTS IN ASIA.

D. POSSIBLE NORTH KOREAN ADVENTURISM: THE AMERICAN RESPONSE AND THE REACTION OF MOSCOW AND PEKING TO A NEW KOREAN CRISIS WORRY THE JAPANESE. WITH U.S. FORCES IN THE EAST ASIA/PACIFIC AREA STILL BEING REDUCED AND THE SOVIET MILITARY (ESPECIALLY NAVAL) PRESENCE RISING BEYOND THE ALREADY HIGH LEVELS BROUGHT ON BY THE SINO-SOVIET CONFLICT, EACH POWER CONCERNED HAS DIFFICULTY READING THE CURRENT POWER EQUATION AND THE INTENTIONS OF THE MAJOR ACTORS. THE INTERNAL POLITICAL SITUATION IN THE ROK PRODUCES NEGATIVE REACTIONS IN BOTH AMERICA AND JAPAN, MAKING PUBLIC SUPPORT AT HOME FOR CURRENT POLICIES QUESTIONABLE. THE TERRITORIAL ISSUE BETWEEN JAPAN AND THE SOVIET UNION INHIBITS NORMALIZING THEIR BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP, AS DOES ALSO THE INTER-PLAY BETWEEN MOSCOW AND PEKING AND TOKYO AND PEKING.

E. THE ISSUE OF THE RESOURCES OF THE SEA AND SEABEDS INCREASINGLY COMPLICATES STRATEGIC CONSIDERATIONS AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONSHIPS IN THE AREA. SENSING SMALL IMMEDIATE MILITARY THREAT TO JAPAN, AND FACED WITH RESTRICTIVE BUDGETARY PROBLEMS, JDA PLANNERS ARE SEEKING TO DEVELOP POLITICALLY DEFENSIBLE AND PRACTICALLY ACHIEVABLE PLANS FOR CONTINUANCE OF THE SELF DEFENSE

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ACTION CU-04

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FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO

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FORCES, WHILE REAFFIRMING THE NATION'S RELIANCE ON THE

SECURITY TREATY.

7. PROGRAM EMPHASIS: A. ALTHOUGH THIS MPP WILL NOT CONCENTRATE EXCLUSIVELY ON DETENTE AND/OR KOREA, THESE TWO ISSUES ARE OF KEEN INTEREST AMONG JAPANESE AND WILL BE DISCUSSED DURING THE PROGRAM IN RELATIONSHIP TO THE SOVIET UNION AND CHINA. SPECIFICALLY THE QUESTIONS WHICH SHOULD BE FOCUSED UPON IN THIS PACKAGE ARE: 1. HOW DO DETENTE AND THE MUTUAL SECURITY TREATY RELATE? IS DETENTE WORKING AND IF IT IS, WHY IS THE SECURITY TREATY NECESSARY? 2. WHAT IS THE OUTLOOK FOR THE SINO-SOVIET RIVALRY; AND HOW DO THE UNITED STATES AND JAPAN DEAL WITH THIS CONFRONTATION WITHOUT GETTING CAUGHT IN THE MIDDLE? 3. WHAT DOES THE U.S. SEE AS THE LEGITIMATE ROLE FOR THE SOVIET UNION IN ASIA? 4. HOW CAN WE MAINTAIN PEACE AND STABILITY ON THE KOREAN PENINSULA? WHAT ARE THE DIRECTIONS OF CHINESE, SOVIET, NORTH KOREAN, SOUTH KOREAN AND AMERICAN PURPOSES AND POLICIES IN KOREA? WHAT SHOULD THE U.S. OR JAPAN DO IN VARIOUS CONTINGENCIES IN KOREA?

8. TIMING: JUNE 2 THROUGH JUNE 23.

9. IMPLEMENTATION: PROGRAM WOULD BE HELD IN ALL SIX CENTERS. THERE WOULD ALSO BE A NATIONAL SEMINAR HELD IN TOKYO. IN ADVANCE OF THE SEMINAR THERE WOULD BE A LEAD-IN EVENT FEATURING, IF POSSIBLE, THE SECRETARY UNCLASSIFIED

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OF DEFENSE. THE TIMING IDEALLY SHOULD BE IN LATE APRIL OR EARLY MAY.

10. PARTICIPANTS: THREE SPEAKERS ARE REQUESTED FOR THREE WEEKS EACH. ONE SHOULD BE A USG SPECIALIST (ALAN ASSISTANT SECRETARY HABIB, OWEN ZURHELLEN OR BILL GLEYSTEN) IN NORTHEAST ASIAN AFFAIRS. A SECOND SHOULD BE AN ACADEMIC AND/OR THINK-TANK SCHOLAR SPECIALIZING IN NORTHEAST ASIAN AFFAIRS--A RESPECTED AUTHORITY LIKE JEROME COHEN OR EDWARD WAGNER OF HARVARD, GEORGE BECKMANN OF THE UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON, OR FRED GREEN OF BROOKINGS. THE THIRD SHOULD BE FROM THE CONGRESSIONAL SIDE. IDEALLY BUT UNLIKELY IN AN ELECTION YEAR WOULD BE A CONGRESSPERSON. A MORE PRACTICAL GOAL IS A SENIOR STAFF RESEARCHER ON EITHER THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS OR FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE. WHOMEVER IS TAPPED MUST BE A NORTHEAST ASIAN EXPERT; AT LEAST ONE SHOULD BE A SCHOLAR IN CHINA AFFAIRS AND A SECOND IN USSR AFFAIRS AS THEY PERTAIN TO NORTHEAST ASIA.

11. AUDIENCE: A. AT THE NATIONAL SEMINAR ABOUT 30 TOP JAPANESE SPECIALIZING IN NORTHEAST ASIAN SECURITY AFFAIRS SHOULD ATTEND. THEY WOULD BE CHOSEN PRIMARILY FROM THE MEDIA, ACADEMIC AND GOVERNMENT/POLITICAL CATEGORIES. ABOUT 15 WOULD BE FROM TOKYO AND THE REMAINING FROM OTHER CENTER CITIES. B. FOR OTHER PROGRAMS, A MIX OF THE ABOVE WITH PRIMARY AUDIENCE MEMBERS PROFESSIONALLY INTERESTED IN NORTHEAST ASIAN AFFAIRS BUT NOT PRIMARILY SECURITY SPECIALISTS. OTHER CATEGORIES TO DRAW UPON ARE BUSINESS/PROFESSIONAL AND GRADUATE STUDENTS.

12. SUPPORT MATERIALS: THESE WOULD INCLUDE PROGRAM BOOKLETS, VTRS, FILM, ENVIRONMENTAL ABSTRACTA DISPLAY, BIBLIOGRAPHIES, BIODATA, APPROPRIATE ARTICLES, LETTERHEADS, PRESS KITS, PRESENTATION ITEMS, ETC.  
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